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International Court of Justice

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Notice.

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Nicht zu veroeffentlichen vor Darlegung vor dem Gericht (Tribunal in oeffentlicher Sitzung und dann nur jener Teil, welcher tatsaechlich zur Beweisfuehrung uebermittelt wurde.

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Sir George P a r i s h: The Road to Prosperity" (With a foreword by Sir Josiah Stamp). London 1927:

"Instead of being able to buy food and raw materials from nations willing to take payments in her goods, Germany has now to buy largely from nations which do not need their products, and which demand payments in instruments of credit, thus involving her in obligations which she will be able to honour only if there is a complete reversal of present policy of the nations, both in the matter of Tariffs and Reparations." (p.54)

"The trouble about Reparations is the injury they cause not only to the German people, but to the whole of Europe, including France and Great Britain." (p.99).

"The Reparation payments now being made by Germany are indeed in no small measure responsible for the trade despression in so many continental countri and in Great Britain."(p.101)

"Trade cannot become really active so long as the nation are threatened by the great exports from Germany which the Reparation payments render necessar .. So long as Germany is under obligation to sell 122 1/2 millions of Repara tion goods over and above the goods she must sell to live and to pay interes the nations will continue to be frightened about the ability to sell their home in competition, and will endeavour to protect their home markets from being flooded with goods which they fear will be offered at prices below their own costs of production." (p.110/111)

"... Moreover the present crisis to which the desorganisation of production by the war, and the creation of so much credit during and since the war, ha exported the nations, has been intensified rather that diminished by the imposition upon the vanquished nations of great sums for reparations, sums which swell the indebtness of the nations to each other and

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render the creation of new credit a matter of still greater difficulty. At the same time these Reparation payments intensify the general disorganisation which the war caused. Commodities are recieved as Reparations from the vanquished countries which were formerly purchased from other countries. These Reparations thus injure the countries which would supply the goods under normal conditions." (p. 10/11)

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"Manchester Guardian" (quoted from "Deutsche Kurz-Post" current Edition No.49, of 12 Dec. 1931):

"It is a phantastic and terrible dream, to weaken Germany by a tremendous burden of reparation which keeps the country permanently on the verge of collapse and bankruptcy. Such a policy will fail, not only because of the revolt of the rest of the world against a grotesque situation, but also because of the resistance of the German People themselves."

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Senator William E. B o r a h , Chairman of the Committee for Foreign Affaires of the US. Senate in a speech in 1931 (quoted from "Deutsche Kurz Post", current Edition No. 44 of 29. September 1931):

"No improvement of the economic structure without modification of the Treaty of Versailles. Especially necessary: Changes concerning the borders of the Polish Corridor, in Upper Silesia and Hungary. Indeed although now, peace is restored in Europe, it is a peace based on force but not a peace founded on contentment. The security demanded by France, only can be founded on justice. I am for annulment of Allied war debts to us to the same extent as German reparations shall be annuled. A way could be found to compensate France for damage, actually suffered in the territories destroyed, but one must not ask more from Germany. The time for moratories is over. We now must make reductions from the war debts, otherwise Germany will loose her credit completely."

H0672 – 0007

Prof. Dr. Gustav C a s s e l, Stockholm in "Svenska Dagbladet" quoted from "Deutsche Kurz current" Edition No. 47 of 19. Nov. 1931):

"It would be foolish to assume that other countries should be willing to pay for German goods, but to renunciate the payment of their own goods and claims, - only to make it possible for France to receive tributes. If France should accomplish by great efforts the development indicated, she will have to be responsible for the destruction of world trade and world economy, which sur passes all limits."

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Layton - report (Baseler Committee of Experts for Investigation of the German Finance-Structure) (quoted from "Deutsche Kurz Post" 1931 Special Supplementery Edition No.91):

"One of the most important links of the economic apparatus of the world which is weakened very much as it is in its vital power; received a severe blow. This led to a partial paralyzation, which can only be relieved by restoring free traffic of money and goods. We would like to point out that the example of Germany is the most impressive illustration of the fact that the world tried, during the years passed, to follow two different political condradicting principles in allowing the development of an international financial system which means yearly payment of huge sums of debts to creditor countries, - but at the same time puts obstacles in the way in regards to the free traffic of goods."

H0672 - 0009

Senator William E. B o r a h: In a Radio speech in June 1931 (quoted from "Deutsche Kurz Post") Special Supplement avy Edition Nr. 94, 1931:

The nations of the world hardly can bear the burdens of armaments any longer. In spite of this, especially against the disarmament of ground forces exist obstacles to such an extent that members of the Demobilzation Conference probably will agree to any program of studies or another paper-maneuver, like those the League of Nations presented to the world already for 12 years. Today, Europe's order rests on the so-called peace treaties and subsequently on military power; since those treaties can be maintained only, through it. Not even a unification of customs, can be concluded between the nations without being regarded as a "Challenge to the Peace of Versailles". But as long as any right is being denied to examine the Versailles-Treaty in a peaceful manner, a disarmament of ground forces in Europe is not to be expected."

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Senator William J. B o r a h: in a letter published by the "Nation" (quoted from "Deutsche Kurz Post" Special Supplement No. 94, 1931):

"I am of the opinion that there are three perhaps four main possibilities for the recovery of Europe: Revision of the Versailles-Treaty; new regulation of the reparations; recognition of Russia by the United States; thorough disarmament. Europe can not recover under the existing Peace-treaties. Germany never will be in a position to pay the reparations, imposed on her. Unless the Russian problem is solved, there will be nowdisarmament. We live in an Empire of fools and we talk about disarmament and better times but in reality, since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, we are drifting towards dangerous cliffs."

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Professor Dr. C.G. van R i e l , Dutch teacher of Rights of nations i
"Telegraf" 1931 (quoted from "Deutsche Kurz Post" of 4, June 1931
current Edition No.23):

"The promises of the victors of the world war regarding disarmament have not been fulfilled. After the end of the war, Germany was ready for a final reconciliation; trusting the promise of the victors, Germany honestly worked toward disarmament. The United States, to no lesser degree than the other powers, are morally compelled to participate in bringing about the realization of what was laid down as the final goal in the treaties: the general disarmament. All offices have certified that Germany complied with her obligations. The former Allies, however, did not only fail to carry out their obligations, but have, on the contrary, increased and strengthened their armaments.

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John Maynard K e y n e s : "The Economic Consequences of the Peace Treaty", Munich and Leipzig, 1920:

"A war, which apparently and assuredly had been waged for the purpose of protecting the sacredness of international treaties ended with an open violation of the most sacred of such treaties by the victorious champions o this ideal."

"But..But the spokesmen of the British and French nations have venture upon finishing the revolution begun by Germany by means of a peace, the rea zation of which instead of leading to its restoration must lead to further destruction of the tive, complicated system already shaken and torn by war, on the sole basis of which alone the European nations can live and work." (p.1.)

"The peace treaty contains no directives concerning the economic resto ration of Europe, nothing, to make again good neighbors out of the defeated central European nations, nothing to strengthen the new European countries, nothing to save Russia." (p.184)

".....But someshow life goes on until the limits of human suffering ar reached at last and desperate, mad counsel stirs the suffering out of their lethargy which precedes the crisis. The man arouses himself and the ties of habit are loosened. The power of thought commences to rule and man absor eagerly the doctrines of hope, dreams or revenge carried to them by the air ....Who, however, can say how much is to be suffered or in what direction man will seek to escape his mifortune?" (p.208.)

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John Maynard K e y n e s : "Revision of the Peace Treaty".

Munich and Leipzig 1922.

"Two years ago the treaty, which violated equally justice, generosity and wisdom, represented the momentary will of the victorious countries."

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Gustav C a s s e l , Stockholm: "The Monetary Problem of the World."

Second Memorandum. Submitted to the Finance Committee of the League of Nations in Geneva on 17 August 1921 (In bookstores in Munich, 1922. Translated from English):

"Undoubtedly the main source of reparations must come from a reduction of the reparations by lowering the standard of living of the German people before the war. It is practically impossible to carry out such reduction without disadvantageous effects on the standarf of living of the working masses; in it lies the impending danger that the working capacity of the workers will be reduced at the same time. With a reduced output of work and a lowere influx of new capital, however, the production capacity of the whole country must decrease. For this reason it seems natural enough that the fear that the entire reparation plan - as projected now - will finally collapse and that the world will be precipitated again into political and economic chaos, becomes constantly more general and stronger." (p. 54).

"The result of the reparations is extremely unfortunate and damaging; they are perhaps the greatest obstacle to the economic recovery of the world, a recovery which is of much greater interest to the allied nations than my reparations." (p. 58).

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John Foster D u l l e s, formerly Counsel, to the American Peace Commission. In "The Economic Journal" Vol. XXXI, p. 186:

"The German debt to the Allies of some £ 2 0 000 000 000 records the vast economic wastage of war; yet for Germany to delugethe Allies with an equivalent in economic values will to be set up almost equally destructive process."

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Senator B o r a h, Chairman of the Foreign Relation Committee in "The Wall Street News", New York, 10.6.1929, in relation to the Young Plan:

"The load placed upon Germany is too great for that country to bear."

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John H. W i l l i a m s, Havard University, USA in "Papers and Proceedings of the 42 nd Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association" (in "The American Economic Review", Vol.20 Suppl. March 1930):

"Reparation payments under the London settlement did indeed cause the mark to depreciate, to a value finally of one billionth of a dollar."

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Senator B a r n i c h in "La Politique de la Vie Chere et de L'Apauvrissement": (The Policy of High Cost of Living and Empoverishment)

"La Ruhr fut une operation malheureuse, elle a retarde de plusieurs annees le paiement des reparations et aggrave les troubles en Europe."

(The Ruhr was an unfortunate operation, it has retarded the reparation payments for many years and aggravated the troubles in Europe)

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Pierre von O n g e v a l Commercial Engineer - A.C.P., Brussels in "Meditations on the Consequences of the Occupation of the Ruhr".

From Ernst Schultze (Editor): "The Ruhr Occupation and World Economy. International investigation of the effects of the Ruhr Occupation on World Economy", Leipzig 1927.

"The Occupation of the Ruhr has created a period of uncertainty, it has caused economic and political crises, it has been an obstacle to a normal course of affairs, in fact it even made it impossible."

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Prof. John B u s t e e d, Cork, Ireland in "The effects of the Ruhr occupation Creat Britain and the british dominions" aus Schultze a.a.O. S. 237:

"Apart from the piece treaty itself the main post-war cause of dislocation was the occupation of the Ruhr."

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Guy G r e e r, New York City in "An american view of the consequences of the occupation of the Ruhr "aus Schultze S.171:

The Ruhr adventure the whole European economic system out of gear; in the words of the British Prime Minister, it was 'as if you inserted the blade of your pen knife into the works of your watch'. Productive activity was seriously impaires and Europe had no alternative but to resort to additional borrowing if economic rehabilitation was not to be indefinitely delayed ... It is conceivable that the level of production, and trade troughout the world may eventually rise high enough to permit a gradual readjustment, but there can be no doubt that the occupation of the Ruhr served to delay the process. It was as if in the course of rebuilding a house after a desastrous fire, someone set first to the tools and materials available for reconstruction ... The occupation of the Ruhr delayed and rendered more difficult the readjustement necessitated by the war and the piece settlement in the economic and financial relationships of the nations of the world."

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C. Westin S i l v e r s t o l p e . Professor at the Business College at Gotenburg, Sweden, in "The Occupation of the Ruhr and the Economic Life of Sweden" from Schultze a.a.O.p.129:

"The improvement of Sweden's general economic situation....would perhap have made better progress, ...if the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 wou not have threatened Europe with a collapse of its complicated economic struc ture."

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Victor M a r g u e r i t t e : "La Patrie Humaine" (The Human Fatherland"). Quoted from the German edition "Vaterland!" (Fatherland!)Berlin 1931.

"As though it would not have been easy in 1919 to provide Poland with an exit to the Baltic other than Danzig, this great German Hansa city, which is now called a "Free State" pro forma, which however in reality is subject to constant intervention on the part of Poland! It would have been sufficient - was many people proposed at that time - to cut off Memel on the far end of East Prussia and to place it at the disposal of both countries in the form of a free zone in-stead of ceding it to Lithuania as her exclusive property so that this little country would have some coast line of her own, too. But one had to extend the borders of Great Poland as far as at all possible! This was not done at all out of a pious feeling towards some histor remininscence but only to enable Warsaw which rules all land between the sea and the coal mines of Upper Silesia to encircle Koenigsberg, the former Prussi capital, as well. Already the Polish nationalism lays claim to this city, too ... As is well known appetite comes with eating. The evil has been accomplish If, therefore the thorn of Danzig will continue driving into the side of a country that was German a short time ago, and whenever dissension will arise over any ticklsih problem and incidentally dire misery, this bad counsel of the humiliated will drive German Heavy Industry into counter insuring itself by war, the conflict will break out." (pp. 67/68)

"In case Poland should retain her uncompromising attitude concerning the Polish Corridor a nd Danzig, and if she should not yield to the - incidentally rather unlikely - pressure of the League of Nations, Berlin will attempt by force to reunite East and West Prussia which were torn apart contrary to all common sense. Thus, this legal case would be done away with in a blow." (p. 66).

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Victor Marguerittе in "LA PATRIE HUMAINE". Quoted from the German edition "Vaterland!" ("Fatherland"), Berlin, 1931, p. 57.

"By changing the Empire of the House of Habsburg into a miniature republic without economic possibilities, and without sense of political existence, and, by leaving to the famous capital of Vienna one bloodless suburb and a few mountai districts which, taking everything together, constitutes the whole of present Austria, the Treaty of Saint-German by its inner logic impels to racial unity all, - concerning spirit and language, - that still remains from the German community in the heart of the old Germanic Apostolic Empire.
To forbid Austria the Anschluss would equal the pretension of preventing a waterfall from rushing downhill."

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"But this decision (of the Law on the system of state and government of German-Austria of 12 November 1918, article 2 of which reads: "German-Austria is a part of the German Republic") is necessary especially on account of its Article 2 which says that the German-Austrian Republic is a part of the German Republic; this decision is necessary with regards to our ancestral people. Our great people suffers want and misery. The people whose pride it always was to be called the people of poets and thinkers, our German people of humanism, our people devoted to loving other peoples, our German people is severely crushed at the moment. But it in this hour when it is so easy and convenient, and perhaps so empting also, to make up separately one's own bill and perhaps catch advantages from the enemy's cunning, it is in this hour that our people in all its provinces shall know: W e a r e o n e a n d o n e n a t i o n t i e d t o g e t h e r b y o n e f a t e."

From the statement of State Chancellor Dr. R e n n e r .

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Victor Harguerittc in "La Patrie Humaine". Quoted from the German edition "Vaterland" (Fatherland), Berlin, 1931.

With regard to the Hague Agreement: "Does one not see that such usury which triples the debt, must tear the last pound of flesh from Germany's body ? What nation could bear this ? (p.54)

"The peace of Europe would suffer less from attacks of asthma if it were freed from the shackles of the great propitiation which the war debts imposed on it...
According to that logic the entirety of a great, proud, and ingenious people is made responsible for the errors of which, at the most, the Kaiser and his nationalistic-German ("alldeutscher") diplomatic and general staff bear the guilt? To declare the mental derangement of a few individuals as a crime of all corresponds to the mentiality of a tribe of cannibals, but not to that of civilized states." (p.55)

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With regard to the reparations pursuant to the Hague Agreement, Delcasse said:

"This is the same as if one wanted to compel Germany intentionally to wage a new war in order to free her young generation from a clause of slavery the origin of which nobody will remember any more and which (the clause) they (the young generation), therefore, will not be able to understand."

Delcasse made this statement to the publisher of the "Eclaireur de Nice", Leon Garibaldi. It was reproduced in the Paris newspaper "Le Matin" on 25 February 1923.

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John Maynard K e y n e s wrote in "The Peace Treaty of Versailles" Berlin, 1921 (written in June 1921 for the American magazine "Everybody's Magazine"):

"In the first place, t h i s t r e a t y i g n o r e s t h e e c o n o m i c s o l i d a r i t y o f E u r o p e, and by endeavering the destruction of Germany's economic life, it threatens the prosperity and welfare of the Allies themselves. In the second place: by establishing demands the fulfilling of which, literally speaking, is impossible, - it is ridiculing itself and causes Europe to be more uneasy that it ever was before. The treaty in overstepping the limits of what is possible practically did not put anything into order. Real order still must be brought about, and that is : from the ruins of the present and the hopelessness concerning the future, if the fraud of Paris is recognized as what it is.

For easily understandable, reasons of historic experience, which all people must approve of powerful influences worried about France's future security, were at work in Paris demanding that the peace may complete the destruction of the economic life in central Europe which the war already had accomplished to a great extent." (pp. /18)

"Therefore, I can only assure that the articles referring to coal are inappropiate and harmful, and that they not only constitute absolute danger for the economic life,but also for the political peace of the European continent." (p.25)

"But if one takes into consideration the present emotions and tendencies of the European capitalistic society, it almost seems certain that the real production of iron in Europe

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is cut down by new political boundaries such as sentiments or history just see fit to establish, only because nationalism and private interests demand that a new economic boundary shall be drawn along the political one ....

Thus, the peace treaty injures the general public welfare By its clauses concerning coal and iron, and by destroying this general public welfare it inflicts damage upon its wealth which is already badly reduced." (p. 26/27)

"One year since its existence (the peace of Versailles has passed now, and much of its authority has been lost, - in my opinion not because the attitude toward Germany improved, but because the peace treaty as such is no peace treaty, and because in reality it does not settle anything. W h a t E u r o p e n e e d s a b o v e e v e r y t h i n g e l s e i s a r e a l s e t t l e m e n t ; a n d t h a t t h e p e a c e t r e a t y d i d n o t g i v e u s . If one obligates a person to carry out some impossible act one does not come closer to a decission than he came to the performance of his task. Out of necessity his promise becomes a dead letter. The treaty's clauses pertaining to reparations and coal constitute the most important economic points of the peace treaty. However, they are worded in foolish and swollen phrases and they have no relation to the real facts; they are, consequently, without any practical value and they offer no safe prospect for the future." (pp. 45/46)

"My own American colleagues from Paris whose opinions I share and whose work against the treaty I admire, out of loyalty to their esteemed chief (Wilson) unfortunately felt obliged to declare the treaty to be document of perfectly great wisdom, something that no man in Europe believes any more." (pp.47/48).

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Francesco N i t t i , Italian Prime Minister, retired:,

"Peaceful Europe" (Das friedliche Europa). Frankfurt/Main (1921).

"After the victory of the Entente (Allies) the microbes of hatred developed into peculiar formations: national covetousness, imperialism, mania for conquest.

The treaties forced upon the conquered are only weapons to suppress them. What kind of conditions could Germany have imposed if she had won the war? Probably better ones, certainly no worse, conditions as, while carrying out the provisions of that treaty, she woulf have realized that treaties such as the ones we imposed upon the defeated simply can not be carried out. .... Three years have passed since the war ended; more than two years since the conclusion of the peace, and Europe still has more people under amrs than it had before the war. New wars are brewing." (pp. 28/29).

"At a session in the French chamber Clemenceau said that the treaties are means for carrying on the war. He spoke nothing but the truth, because the struggle continues to rage and peace is more distant than ever before." (p. 31)

"Upon defeated peoples, - among them Germany which, after all, is the most cultured country of the world, - a peace was imposed which means the continuation of the war." (p. 32)

"The treaties are in open contradiction with everything the Entente (Allies) had proclaimed again and again during the war as its principles and they the treaties constitute in their entirety a violation of Wilson's Fourteen Points which included a solemn obligation not only on the part of the enemies but also on the part of the democracies of the whole world." (p.33).

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"An absurd national frenzy rages in every country which escaped war, as f.i. in Poland where they are spinning phantastic dreams of an immense empire ....." (page 833).

"Nobody can say that the treaty of Versailles has the remotest connection to the over and over repeated declarations of the Allies, to the obligations solemnly accepted by Wilson in the name of all participants in the war." (page 60).

The armistic terms themselves already violated the guarantees which the Allies had accepted in front of the whole world, but the treaty of Versailles as well as all treaties deriving from it contain a plain denial of all that had been promised and constituted a duty of honor which confused and upset the enemy more than new divisions." (page 60).

"But the total loss which Germany suffered due to the treaty goes beyond any expectation and can only be considered from the view point of a deliberate procedure which was brought into action to destroy a whole nation." (page 62).

"In reality, these treaties picked out the largest possible number of Germans from Austria and of Magyars from Hungary ceding them to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and the Serbian-Croatian-Slavonian state, that is almost always to nations on a lower cultural level." (page 66)

"... Furthermore, the Danzig Free-state, which in reality is subordinate to Poland, constitutes a constant threat to Germany." (page 67).

"So this, which was considered a holy token of peace by everybody, was simple not kept; all the magnaninous assurances which the Allies gave during the war were not kept; all collectively accepted obligations, Wilson's proclamations which, without

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having the character of a contract or treaty, constitute perhaps a solemn promise, an obligation toward the civilized world and which were accepted at the most tragical moment in order to grant justice to the enemy, have never been heard off again. For the first time in civilized Europe, and not even during the war, when everything was permitted because the first necessity was selfpreservation, but after the war, on German soil, where the most cultured and progressive population is living, where men with the greatest technical tatents are living which civilization ever called her own, the allies - although there is no necessity whatsoever for it - maintain larger armies than ever and demand that they be supplied by the conquered. As means of imposing the most shameful insult colored troops were employed; people from the darkest and most barberous Africa were put into Germany as protectors of culture and guards of democracy." (page 68)

"Seen from a moral point of view these treaties now concluded represent an immense retrogr ssion compared to all previous treaties, because they put Europe's culture back into a period which we believed to have overcome for many centuries. They also contain a danger. If everybody in his revenge goes beyond the measure of injustice perpetrated upon him and if one considers furthermore that the conquered of today may be the conquerors of tomorrow,- into what abyss of brutality, moral barbarism, and demoralization will Europe finally be thrown? (page 73)

"Nothing is more useless and also stupid than putting the knife to the throat of an enemy after he was conquered, and thereby forcing him to declare that all injustice is to be

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creditid to him. Such declaration is completely useless for the one who won the war - as he cannot attach any value to a declaration which he has forced out of his enemy -, it is useless for the one who lost the war, because he knows that a forced declaration in which he does not believe himself has no moral meaning; it is useless also for every third party, as he knows very well under what conditions the declaration was made. Perhaps President Wilson wanted to secure a moral basis for himself I do not dare calling it a moral alibi - from which, since he had to yield to pressure, he could agree to all terms which contradicted everything he had previously promised solemnly everything that meant a holy token to his people, to the American democracy . . . Therefore, I cannot declare that Germany and her allies are the only ones responsible for the war which turned Europe into a pile of rubble and made hell break loose on earth. The statement which we all made during the war was a war weapon, but nobody can quote it as a serious argument after the war." (page 86/87)

"I cannot imagine a safer way towards new struggles than to surround the German people, which has proven to be one of the most vigorous and powerfull races of the world, with innumerable small states whose population in the past has never had a secure government, and in each of these states lives a number of Germans who long to be reunited with their native country. The suggestion of the Polish commission to force 2 100 000 Germans under the sovereigenty of a people which has a different religion and which in its entire history has not once proven its ability for stable self government, must, in my opinion, lead sooner or later to a new war in Eastern Europe." (page 99).

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Therefore the thought of tearing away from the Germans a large group of population for the purpose of attaching them to other States is not alone an injustice, but a cause for future wars..... To put millions of Germans under the rule of the Poles, a nation on a lower cultural level, which never showed even the least ability to govern itself with a strong hand, must lead to a new war sooner or later." (p.113).

.....The one thing cannot be denied and it cannot be contradicted, namely, that the treaties are contrary to all those principles for which the United States of America and Italy entered the war without any obligation - which was alas! so often announced by the Entente; they are the greatest insult to Wilson's Forteen Points, which mean a holy pledge to the American people and tomorrow they will be the most terrific accusation, which the vanquished of today will be able to hold against the victors of today." (p.133)

"The evil lies within the very fact that the treaties, which have been concluded, are not feasible or that one can not carry them out without causing the rapid disintegration of Europe." (p.137)/

"Poland has received the State of Danzig - a real paradox." (p.140).

"Her (Polands) treaty with France imposes on her military obligations of such an extent that one cannot very well define her as a country striving for peace. At the same time Poland dreams fantastic dreams of external grandeur, and approaches growing internal disintegration, she demands - despite her own disorder - to guard and to rule nations of much higher intelligence and culture." (p.143.)

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"Only for the purpose of harming Germany and to make life hard for the German people, one has created a Czechoslovakian State which now also has to go through a severe national crisis. A Czechoslovakia of eight to nine million inhabitants would have formed a closed ethnic unit. Instead of this, they thrust upon her more than five and a half million people of different nationalities, among them about four million Germans, - with cities, which are German from one end to the other . . . . Of greater importance is the fact that these four million Germans are devoted to Germany with body and soul; because they are of higher culture and civilization, they never will submit to Czech domination." (p. 188).

"Germany is completely disarmed and has lost entirely the character of a sovereign State through the occupation of the Rhineland, having been placed under a control such as was not even exercised on Turkey. There is nothing similar or related to be found in the history of modern treaties: these are conditions, which shake the simplest cultural foundations for the interrelationship of nations . . . . This curse on a guilty people (the reparation obligations for future generations) has no precedent in modern history." (p. 215).

No man with a sense of justice has any doubts left about the unheard-of injustice of the Versailles treaty and all treaties deriving from it." (p. 225).

"The constantly repeated assertion that the Germans are not fit for a democratic government, is untrue and unjust; just as untrue as the statement that Germany is a war-loving country and would differ for this reason from all the other countries.

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"During the last three centuries France and Great Britain have waged many more wars than Germany." (p. 259)

" ... the treaties (peace treaties) resulting from animosity were carried out by force." (p. 6)

"The recently concluded treaties which regulate or we should say, are supposed to regulate the relationship between nations, constitute a frightening step backward, they mean the negation of all recognized principles of state rights." (p. 6/7)

"Christopher Columbus left Europe to find a way to India, and found America. President Wilson came from America to bring peace to Europe, and created nothing but confusion, and aggravated the cruelties." (p. 7)

"Both wards of the Entente, Greece and Poland, like two spoiled children, pursue a policy full of greediness and caprice." (p. 144)

"The entire system of the Versailles treaty was built on the Polish error. Poland has not been created out of magnanimity for the fulfilment of rightful claims; not a Polish Poland has come to life but an enormous state which cannot exist for long in its present shape." (p. 148)

"Not the Polish nation has constituted itself into a state, they created a Polish military state, the main task of which is supposed to be to work toward Germany's ruin." (p. 149)

"This occupation (of the Rheinland) which not only offends Germany deeply, but paralyses its entire activities, is generally

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considered entirely useless." (p.124)

"In other words, the most vital possession of this purely German bond, which was never claimed by France (the Saar territory), of which nobody talked during the war, has been given to the victorious state, the country has been subjected to the administration of the victors(at present this is the League of Nations) and then, after 15 years of torment a plebiscite should take place. The Saar basin meanwhile has become French customs territory." (p.129)

"However, there was the goal which dominated the entire structure of the treaties: to smash Germany, to dismember Germany, to strangle Germany. France above all aimed at one objective in the realization of which it would not shrink from any obstacle: Germany had to be cut up, the German unity torn. She created unbearable living conditions, she tore away German border states, subordinated wide zones to military control, delayed the appointment of some diplomats, or omitted it entirely, transmitted her decisions only through the military commissions, and thus broughtabout condition which necessarily had to shake the unity of the Germany Reich. One thing is certain, the present tr treaties threaten to ruin victor and vanquished alike, they did not bring peace to Europe, they rather created a state of war and despotism. The treaties, in the words of Clemenceau, were the means to continue the war." (pp.131/132)

"Poland violates the treaties, breaks the rules of international law, yet it finds backing in all its enterprises.... In Upper Silesia, all violent acts purporting to avert the plebiscitoonds in Germany's favor, are not only tolerated but had been prepared far ahead of time." (p.182)

H0672 - 0038

"Many of the most important men in Europe and America now realize the harmfulness of the wish for revenge which they advocated in the ecstasy of their victory." (p. 9)

"If only the victors and vanquished would for a short time forget their warlike thoughts if they would convince themselves of the fact that the suppression of the vanquished cannot last forever the situation in Europe would change unexpectedly." (p. 11).

H0672 – 0039

Philip Snowden, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a broadcast (September 2, 1929). Cited after the "Bankers" Magazine, Vol. CXXVIII, p.547/575

"Ever since the end of the War the questions of Reparations and kindred debts have caused considerable trouble...

The Peace Conference met at Paris after the War in an atmosphere still charged with war passions. Fantastic ideas were then entertained as to the possibility of compelling the defeated nations to pay the whole cost of the War... Three years after the end of the War some wiser heads began to realise that the whole idea of receiving Reparations and discharging inter Allied debts was financially and economically impossible without inflicting injury on debtor and creditor alike... Practical experience has proved the soundness of the belief that the receipt of Reparations and the payment of debts have disastrous consequences on the financial and economic systems of debtors and creditors alike... Reparations were finally paid only in goods, and the payment of Reparations to Britain by Germany immediately after the War in the form of Reparations a most serious injury on the British shipbuilding industry, from which it has not yet recovered Payment by Germany of Reparations in kind likewise did grave injury to the British home and export trades, particularly our coal exports... And even those who fixed the scale of annuities to be paid (the members of the Dawes Committee) had grave no doubt a whether it would be possible to transfer the payments to the creditors without seriously upsetting the international exchange."

H0672 - 0040

Colomb G i l F i l l a n, Grinell College, Grinell, Iova (USA) in "Political Science Quarterly", Vol. 39, p. 481 (1924):

"When the map was redrawn by the Treaty of Versailles the whole railroad scheme was disorganized, in site of some attention being paid to this need, in the cost of other needs."

H0672 - 0041

David Lloyd George: "The Truth on Reparations and War Debts." Berlin, 1932:

"They (the terms of the Dawes Plan) included also provisions which should make it impossible for Mr. Poincare to throw Europe into chaos in the future by using reparations as a pretext for attacks on German soil and its economic life. Thus ended the sad and tragic episode of the Ruhr's occupation which brought unspeakable misery to the millions of central Europe, which had after the war set back the clock of reconstruction in the whole world, and which had aggravated the problem of unemployment finally and the industrial decline and which had finally failed in reaching their main goal of receiving reparations from Germany." - (p. 108)

"There cannot be any doubt about the fact that right after the war Germany was so exhausted and impoverished that her government was really not able to collect enough taxes to cover the internal expenditures and at the same time satisfy the demands of the Allies. In her despair she resorted to the printing press and produced paper money which in no way constituted real increase of her total wealth, but only destroyed her currency and ruined her prosperous middle classes." (p. 114)

Mr. Poincare's attitude at that time (1922) can be understood only by presuming that he was dominated by the fixed idea of having to carry out the occupation of the Ruhr region in order to deal a blow not only at the German industry, but also at the German unity. He could not seriously believe that if he took into consideration the results of Germany's financial situation which were available to him, his plan would really lead to the procurement of full payments from a country in such a position.

H0672 -0042

Even if the payment of reparations by Germany were his real aim, the unanimous opinion of the greatest experts was opposed to it by advising a limited moratorium and total noninterference in German industry as an essential prerequisite. But he rejected any plan presented to him, offended Mr. J.P. Morgan with a group of foremost international bankers who sought a sound basis for a loan to restore German finances and after having destroyed the unity of the Allies kept all Europe in turmoil and chaos for the rest of the year, while the German mark dropped to 16o for one penny." (p. 1o6).

Instead of spanning bridges across the frontiers and trying to unite with their neighbors in a great combined effort to achieve common progress and profit, the frightened nations endeavor to improve and increase their armaments, while trying to paralyze and force down their former opponents in the realm of international politics. Thus Europe was condemned to a state o chaos and hopelessness out of which we still have not risen and where all our hopes for quick industrial progress are stifled ... the post-war policy of France and her Allies on the continent should be therefore considered as one of the main causes directly responsible for Germany's failure to pay reparations.

They had the choice between a policy of friendliness and encouragement toward Germany, to restore her economic revival to a certain degree of solvency and policy of weakening and suppressing Germany which according to their views would serve the interests of their own future security. Under the influence of Mr. Poincaré they chose the second attitude, excepting to reap the full proceeds of the first one. When the Ruhr adventure ended, any hope for full repayment had disappeared. (p. 118).

"A wave of economic nationalism flooded the world, hitting not only Europe but causing new trade restrictions to emerge everywhere. Particularly America, the chief and last creditor in the matter of international war debts which should have been paid off by reparations, continued after the war to put up higher custom barriers ... But so long as her creditors (Germany's are unwilling to buy, year after year, a considerable amount of her production at a fair price, her increased output could never be transformed into reparations" (p.119/120)

"The history of reparations, briefly summarized in the preceding pages, might leave the reader under the impression as though actually very little had been paid . This would be erroneous. The principal ledgers were kept by the Allies and fundamental rules of orderly book-keeping were much harmed by the methods used to fix up the credit and debit columns... In any case it was an enormous economic achievement for a vanquished country, exhausted by an endless war, weakened by territorial losses, deprived of credits and whose productive capacity was hampered by repeated interference." (p.128)

"But the politicians in Germany are saying, not without some semblance of truth, that misery overswept their country due to the burden of the Treaty ..."

"It is also useless to talk about the sanctity of treaties. The Allies have already thoroughly depreciated this conception by their shameless refusal to fulfill their commitments in the Treaty."

H0672-0043

H0672 - 0044

"To drive Germany towards bankruptcy in the pointless endeavor to get out of her more than she can pay, does not mean that one lives up to the Treaty it means that it broken and dishonored." (p. 192).

"Finally, the procedure of establishing again and again from conference to conference Germany's obligation to make her yearly payments for reparations, took place over eleven years and has ended in wild chaos." (p. 193)

"Eleven years have elapsed, since (Ruhr invasion) but the French ministers still quarrel in Geneva, whether they should fulfill one tenth of their commitments of the treaty in view of their disarmament." (p. 80)

"The British government has acknowledged two years ago openly that for a country exhausted by the war the transfer of large sums over the frontier would prove to be a very difficult enterprise. Later events showed how narrow by drawn the limits of economic law had been in such transactions. But in all the negotiations of those years the French minister one after another displayed in this respect extraordinary obstinacy, not to say stupidity. They acted as if they felt: economic laws could be altered or rejected as it is done by an act of Parliament by majority vote, or that their action may be stopped by military measures. When a stipulated payment was not completely forthcoming, they refused to believe that hard facts of the economic situation might be responsible for it." (pp. 80/81).

The distrust and harshness which clouded their (the French) judgment at all reparation conferences, which lead them later to the costly folly of the Ruhr invasion and even recently, last year, caused the only too long higgling over Hoover Moratorium, are in the highest degree responsible for the unabated restlessness in Europe and the economic depression in the whole world which at the present time. (pp. 81/82).

H0672 - 0045

"He (Poincare) was not interested in a fair peace still less in a magnanimous one..... However punctiliously decent and righteous he has been in all his activities in private life, he was not so where Germany was concerned." (pp. 95/96).

"The real purpose of France's venture to the Rhine (Ruhr invasion) was to ruin Germany, perhaps with the secret hope to detach this wealthy region from the Reich as an independant republic, connecting it later on with the French industry". (p. 99)

Poincare's proposal at the conference (London 1922) proved either his total inability to understand even the elementary economic conditions ruling the payments of one country to another, or his more sinister decision to provoke a German violation of the treaty in order to justify a march to the mining fields of Westphalia with a further possibility to separate them from their German fatherland." (p. 1oo).

"And on January 11 the French proceeded to occupy the Ruhr- military aggression against a disarmed nation, as unjustified as it later proved unprofitable." (p. 1o7).

H0672-0046

Robert L a n s i n g : "The Versailles Peace Negotiations. Personal Recollections." Berlin, 1921.

"In the peace treaties which ended the war, the right of self-determination as a universally valid and applicable right has been totally abandoned or at least infringed in many paragraphs. Since the solemn proclamation of this principle it has often been used as an excuse for restless elements in different countries in their rebellion against the existing state authority. This resulted in in frequent attempts to grab by means of force the sovereignty over a territory or community out of the hands of those who have possessed this sovereignty since times immemorial and have been fully justified in using it. Nations which are greedy for land have based their territorial claims on the ground of self-determination. By this word of self-determination a new spirit of confussion has come into the internal and foreign political conditions." (p.78)

"All stood on a knife's edge and the most impossible was possible (winter of 1918/1919). The later events do not offer an excuse for the delay in the work for peace. It was not intelligent statesmanship nor far-sighted out-look which at that time saved the world from a great catastrophe but the lucky factor that a people used to obedience did not allow itself be misled by the enemies of the existing order" (p.84)

"The impression which it (the treaty) makes is disappointing, arouses regret and depression. The peace terms seem be unspeakably hard an humiliating while many of them appear to me unrealizable" (p.205).

H0672 – 0047

"The league (League of Nations), the way it is organised now, will be the victim of greediness and intrigue and the ruling of unanimity in the Counsil which could serve as an obstacle against it will be violated or will render impotent the organization. It is expected that it will put the stamp of approval upon an injustice. We have a peace treaty but it will not bring permament peace because it is based on the quicksands of selfishness." (p. 206).

I was not the only one holding the views expressed here. I was in London a few days after they were put in writing (8 May 1919) where I discussed the treaty with several English Statesmen. From their views I took notice of the following: "It is agreed that the treaty is unwise and useless, that it is engendered by intrigues and was developed by greed and that would promote rather than prevent wars." One of these leaders of political thinking in Great Britain said: "The only perceptable purpose of the League of Nations appears to be that permanent life is granted to a series of unjust regulations which were obtruded." (pp. 206/207).

H0672 - 0048

Robert L a n s i n g , Secretary of State (Foreign Office) of the Wilson's Cabinet, American delegate for peace in Paris, in "The Peace Negotiations of Versailles, Personal recollections." Berlin 1921, pp. 116/117:

"It may seem surprising that the large powers were so ready to support the new method (System of Mandates) to gain a seemingly limited control over the conquered territories, without trying to obtain full sovereignty over them. One need not search for a sufficient and very practical reason. Had Germany's colonial possessions been partitioned among the victorious powers according to the old method and ceded to them immetiately with full sovereignty, then Germany rightly would have demanded that the value of such a cession of territories should be included in some kind of payments of war-reparations to which the powers were entitled. The League of Nations, however, proceeded to assign mandates, - allegedly in the interest of the inhabitants of the Colonies, - and the Mandates were to be accepted by the powers as a obligation and not as a means to aquire new possessions. Due to the system of Mandates Germany lost her territorial riches which would have considerably reduced her financial debt to the Allies, while these gained the German Colonial possessions without suffering the loss of any claims for corpensation. The seeming altruism of the system of Mandates in its factual effect worked in favor of the selfish and materiel interests of the powers which accepted such Mandates. (pp. 116/117).

"His Wilson's Superior way of thinking and his noble intentions blinded him to the low motives which, it seems, led to the result of general agreement on his favorite system of Mandates." (p. 119)

H0672 - 0049

L. S. A m e r y , British Minister of Colonies (quoted from "League of Nations, Journal for International Politics".)
(7th year, Nr. 3 p. 48 (I Nov. 1937):

"Concerning Germany's inability to rule natives here is dealt with an assertion which, as many others, was established in speeches and in officia files even which originated in the unhealthy atmosphere of that time."

H0672 - 0050

Alfred P e y e t, French author, in "Those Responsible for the War" ("Les Responsables de la Guerre") quoted from Koelnische Zeitung of 10. April 34.)

"At the end of the war 70 million Germans of every sex and of different age, rendered docile, through hunger were compelled to sign a treaty which is the product of fourteen dust-covered principles from overseas, and which concealed thousand and one arrows in order to plunge them(the(Germans) for centuries,- disarmed and powerless centuries, into cunning slavery. With a few thumb-screw the "Defenders of Rights" forced a great nation to lower themselves before human beings and gods by lying as never a "candidate of hell" had lied on the rack."

H0672-0051

T e W a t e r , High-Commissioner for South-Africa, 1937 (quoted from "League of Nations" Journal for International Politics", 7th year Nr. 3, of 1 Nov. 1937):

"Concerning the question of Colonies, it is my personal opinion which I already advocated for a long time, - that the Nations should not hesitate any longer to examine Germany's standpoint in the spirit of common sense and moderation."

H0672-0052

Manchester Guardian of 8 Oct. 1937:

" ..... And yet Germany has to submit a justified complaint. It is not of an ethical nature, even not of an economic, but of a political nature. As long as Great Britain and France consider their colonial empires as private property and as war booty, Germany cannot be blamed if she is demanding her share."

H0672-0053

Ormsby - Gore, British Minister of Colonies, to the House of Commons on 21 July 1937 (quoted from "League of Nations" Journal for International Politics" 7th year, Nr. 3 of Nov. 1937):

"The stipulations on Mandates developed into a sort of Bible for many people and each word therein became sacred. The whole purpose of the League of Nations, in addition, is that treaties and international obligations should and can be revised if, through events, they prove to be absolete.

Half on the unrest in the world can be traced today to the fact that this purpose and this spirit of the League of Nations in many cases are not executed to their full extent."

H0672-0054

Lord Allen of Hurtwood in a letter to the "Times" on 16 October 1937:

"If some ways and means to this effect cannot be found soon (a revision of colonial policy in Germany's favor), then the demand for colonies - just like that for reparations before - will remain a sore wound in Europe's body."

H0672-0055

A. A. M i l n e in a letter to the "Times of 21 October 1937:

On the re-instatement of Germany in Tanganyika. "Let us remember first of all that when we speak of strategic dangers and key positions, the tragedy of the next war will not lie in its results but in its outbreak. Because compared to the war itself, victory or defeat will be only a trivial matter. To endanger the possibility of a peaceful settlement even to the slightest degree by stubborn insistance on key positions for a future war is a criminal stupidity. To endanger it (the peaceful settlement) for the sake of a key position in Central Africa, is beyond words."

H0672-0056

Sidney Bradshaw Fay American professor, in "The Origin of the World War" (quoted from "Koelnische Zeitung," April 27, 1934 issue):

"We have to drop the verdict of the Versailles Treaty that Germany and its allies are exclusively responsible. It was an admission to the victors by the vanquished extorted under the influence of war psychosis, misery, ignorance, hatred and propagandistic halluzination. It was based on incomplete and not always logical evidence. It is generally acknowledged by the best historians of all nations that it can no longer be upheld and defended."

H0672-0057

L. G a r v i n in the "Observer", London 5 July 1931: issue

"The principle of security of France and its allies means that there is no safety for Germany.

The German nation shall renounce any natural and moral claim to equal rights. This demand constitutes a grave breach of promise never before witnessed by the world."

We, Annemarie C. Catlin,
Theodore Lit,
Harry M. Frohman

hereby certify that we are thoroughly conversebt with the German and English languages and that the above is a true and correct translation of Document Nr. 1321.

Nuernberg, 15. March 1946.

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